167 /57 cont./ The Makassarese and Buginese proclivity for colonizing as well as their call to the sea can probably be explained by the same conflict.

3. Colonizations

The move of a man of high nobility with a large number of followers to a remote region, such as could be observed half a century ago, might in a few cases be explained by difficulties with very close relatives.

In the case of recent migrations of Makassarese to Buginese country, an economic motive is always reported. However, it seems more correct to say that changes in the economic structure stimulated the tendency toward mobility.

In several kampongs situated to the north of Parepare, large groups speaking Makassarese have been found. I undertook an investigation in three kampongs, Kape, Langa, and Paria. The aim was to explore the integration of Makassarese colonists, living among the Buginese. To make a distinction from the migrations discussed above, we shall here refer to colonizations.

124 125 167 The "Makassarese" living in a certain kampong were in each case called together for a brief survey. This usually resulted in a number of adult men appearing. They were questioned on several points: their name and the names of their housemates; who of these were married; whether this married couple was related to each other and if so to what degree; whether this marriage had taken place in the festive manner or by way of silariang; which region they regarded as their homeland; for how long they had resided here; the reasons that had led them to leave their homeland and come here.

The results showed few differences between the three kampongs. /58/ Everywhere the tie with the homeland turned out to be a very close one. During harvest time, kinsmen came to help. After the harvest, individuals of the colonists'

167 /58 cont./ group regularly went back to the homeland, albeit only temporarily. Everywhere people gave as a reason for colonization the fact that it was easier to earn one's livelihood here than in the homeland. In two of the three kampongs, there were more men than women, a phenomenon which is to be regarded as normal (1) in the regions of colonization, where

1. See the table on p. 80 for figures.

the heavy work falls to the men.

Only a general tendency was observable for the period when most of the colonists had come. Men of approximately fifty years stated that they had come here first as young men, thus about 25 years before, initially often as seasonal workers, and that they had stayed to live here only later. Others gave their arrival as from 20 years to a year ago. My impression is that after a few pioneers had first arrived, large numbers of Makassarese began to migrate to the north around 1935. From the statements of a number of informants it appeared that their present-day place of residence was not their first, but that they had originally settled elsewhere after their departure from the homeland. It can be stated that, once people make one move, further migrations frequently follow.

167 563 The migrants did not possess an ornament: "That remained in Galesong," as they once put it. I did not see any saukang on the sawahs. People denied having little ancestral houses or offering bowls (2) in their houses. They gave as the reason

2. See pp. 86, 87.

for this the fact that the Buginese among whom they lived here were strict Moslems who did not care for such old-fashioned affairs.

167 423 466 /58 cont./ With a few exceptions these colonists owned no land in Buginese country (3). They worked fields that

> 3. The group in Paria was primarily making a living from a number of fishponds situated along the seacoast. They had found these in a deplorable state but had restored them completely. They lived on the ponds where they bred and marketed fish under very favorable conditions at the time of the study.

belonged to large landowners, who here are both members of the nobility as well as merchants who have become wealthy during the last 10 to 15 years. Since 1939 the leadership of the Sadang irrigation project has been turning extensive /59/ dry-land regions into potentially fertile sawah areas. The shortage of manpower, however, is extreme. As long as this continues, the colonists can demand very good working conditions. Their bargaining position is strong. For example, one group demanded of a certain large landowner that he let no others cut rice in his sawahs.

167 423 There is little expression of a need for securing a more solid economic position by buying land in the new region of residence. Some even considered a sawah at such a distance from the homeland an unsafe possession. Several colonists seemed to have redeemed sawahs which they had earlier mortgaged in their homeland with money they earned in Buginese country, and even to have given mortgages on new sawahs there. At this point, therefore, the tie with the homeland seemed to be very strong.

1:Chabot--80 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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	Total Number of Registered Houses	Total Number of Individuals	Men	Women	Festive Marriages	Silariang Marriages	Married Couple Related to Each Other	Married Couple Not Related to Each Other	Average Number of Individuals per House	Place of Origin	
Kape	25	133	80	53	27	1	19	9	5 1/3	Galesong	7
										Lebakkang	10
										Pangkadjene	4
										Maros	4
Langa	28	165	85	80	22	7	26	3	5. 9	Galesong	28
										Lebakkang	9
										Segeri	2
Paria	15	80	34	46	16	1	8	9	5 1/3	Pangkadjene	1
										Maros	2
										Djeneponto	1
Total 1949	68	378	199	179	65	9	53	21	5. 56		
Bontoramba 1948	129	787	382	405	105	27	104	28	6. 1		

567 age. If they are over forty today they do not care so much,
152 and would admit it (proud to be slaves?), but if they are under forty they get very angry. Sensitive. I was told that nearly all slaves are descended from the poor. I asked about one family. They said that they had a very small house and were very poor. Another slave family is still living with a master family. They said that they didn't want to go off.

342 Ground plan modifications during the past fifty years: today
178 there are generally fewer people in each house than was true
161 fifty years ago. A house like Saleh's now has eight inhabitants
592 whereas formerly there may have been fifteen. And the small houses have many more. The population has risen some despite the slave losses. There is not so much moving around. They saw a difference in making a comparison with the United States.

● 167 Migration: on this subject there is much discussion. In
521 general, two kinds of people left the area during the last fifty years, sailors and contract coolies. They went to many places, especially to Banjermasin to work in connection with rubber or oil. Many people would like to go away, and talk about it, but they have no money so they have to remain. When a traveler returns he tells about his adventures in visits to friends' houses. There is no central hangout.

167 Immigration: there seems to be relatively little moving in. I asked if they would agree with the generalization that the poorer ones are those who tend to leave, but the well-off tend to stay. They saw the point.

Travel: we again talked about the sailors and coolies. They said that many never left Balombaru at all. They mentioned some ideas regarding danger in the outside world, but not much of the magic sort. They saw the point involved in certain Javan ideas, but insisted that it was not the same here. There seems to be plenty of resistance to leaving on
[593] the part of the elders. They try hard to keep the people from going away.

205 Communication: there is not a single telephone in the kam-
206 pong. The nearest telegraph station is in Makassar and
207 Sungguminasa. Mail goes to Sungguminasa from Makassar, and thence to Djongaya. From there the kepala kampong brings the mail to the kampong of Balombaru. And if he doesn't go there for ten days, there is considerable delay. There is not a single radio in Balombaru.

203 No one reads newspapers. They do read surat kabar dinding literally, wall newspaper, i.e., news bulletins--Analyst] put up on the walls by the Ministry of Information. They said also that there was plenty of class rumor spreading. And

Bukaka, September 7, 1949. First day: I went to the house of the Kepala kampong and began going over the schedule with Andi and the teachers and a few of the boys. Andi has a big empty map on which he will work. He is scared of the census-taking so I told him to start on Bukaka proper in which there are more than a hundred houses. This should be a good sample. He is a slow worker. He said he was having much trouble getting the common people to speak. The Kepala kampong is cooperative and so are the teachers and a few others. But the rest say that they don't know. He is irritated and he said that the Bone people get scared of everything. He said that he did not know why. Perhaps it is the government, but no reason is sure. Later Thierens said that maybe this was because they were scared of Andi, who represents the radja class. I think perhaps he was right. It would have been better if I had got a common man from the kampong to do this job. We got a lot of probably only approximately accurate information regarding the population. 124

Evidently, few people leave per year and the population is relatively stable though seemingly on the increase numerically to a slight degree. Those who leave are mainly unmarried men. When they leave they go mostly to other places on Celebes. From this place there are no contract coolies and few sailors (compare this with Makassar and the kampongs near Makassar). Many of those who go away return as they say it is pleasanter and more pleasing to live in the kampong. They complain of the crowds of people outside. Also they can always get food here. (But this information is derived from the returnees, and perhaps those who have not returned would tell quite a different story.) Those who have returned to the village say that they have no trouble refitting into the kampong life. As for property and so forth, those who had it mostly had families and had left property with them while they were away. There is no noticeable resistance to anyone leaving the village. 166

The section on migration was really quite unsatisfactory. 167 563

As for immigration and information on visitors it appears that even fewer individuals have come into the kampong in the last fifty years. There are a few Chinese, Arabs, Toradja, as well as a very few Makassarese. There are also a few Javans. Family relations seem to be important in this respect. Very few people go away regularly, just as very few people visit regularly. Immigrants fit in easily if they are Mohammedan, but it takes a while. But the Toradja stay apart, as do the Chinese. Several Toradja work for Chinese. And

167 563 remarkably, one of the kampongs here in Bukaka, namely Tolangi, is largely populated by descendants of Toradja who were formerly slaves. They speak Buginese now, but if their relatives visit they speak Toradja. Formerly, if a radja wanted workers, he told the kepala kampong and he in turn ordered the Toradja of Tolangi to go there. Thus they were the slaves of the radja. I must see the place.

609 574 203 Evidently Bukaka has no idea of foreign magic. When a new family moves in, other people come and visit, and they often hold feasts. There are no Europeans here, but there are some Chinese, etc., as above. If a man returns he tells the folk the news from the outside world by visiting in their houses. There is no central meeting place.

484 828 As for travel, there are relatively few people who ever go away on trips. As for most of the people, they never go away. Many would like to travel, but have no money. They are certainly not afraid, and Andi adds that the Buginese are always brave.

365 206 207 As for communication there have been a few changes. This is especially true of the roads and auto buses. There are a few telephones and a few radios too, and electricity runs as far as the Kepala kampong's house. (Not very far). The

205 nearest telegraph station is in Watumpone. Postal delivery goes also only as far as Watumpone from where the kepala wanua informs the addressees that they have letters waiting for them. There are no mailmen, and few letters ever ar-

203 204 178 rive. They don't write them. Very few people ever read newspapers. When they go to Watumpone they read the Information Ministry's wall bulletin, but I am told that the common folk even pass these up. They are not interested. There is no local paper, and they seem never to expect one. What they get are Makassarese and some Javan ones. They also get the Pandji Negara, a monthly from the Information Ministry. No bulletins are posted in the kampongs, but only in Watumpone. They agreed that the bulletins at least were a new development as far as news was concerned.

443 504 No peddlers come in from the outside here, and there are no praus because it is inland. However, in Badjoë on the coast there are plenty of boats.

203 186 829 The market is quite a place to meet people and get local news and gossip. Most of the people here, except the teachers and a few others, are interested only in local news. Evidently there is very little interest in Indonesia as a whole among the mass of the population. This is really a dead place. As for ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world at large, Andi had some geographical ideas, as did the guru, but

this direction. Here again they are the "walking dead". I got the idea that I might entitle the section on Bone "The Land of the Walking Dead". When I described the amusements of New York City to Andi he said that he would die there because of the lack of rest or sleep. But the old Sulewatang and the others were evidently fascinated by, for example, ice dancing. And the movies are always the big attraction. But Thierens told me that most of the people did not like to leave Bone. His boy, for example, when asked if he would like to go to Sengkang, makes up excuses. Thierens said it is because of the old fear of war, enslavement, etc. If so, Andi and the others do not say so. It is a closed world, and evidently the outside is really the outside.

As for the disappearance of old customs, the trend is general and there is not much to say. The death punishment is no longer used here. The calendar system used is the common one and the people asked knew nothing, and this even included the guru, about the Mohammedan or other calendric systems. They said the only regular feasts are Lebaran and Lebaran Hadji and Ramadan. The cycle of life feasts are birth, sunat [circumcision], Mohammedan confirmation, marriage, birth [of a child], and death. That is all. They knew nothing about the rice mother and have no rice feasts that I could find out about, and no memories of them. As for the old people mourning at the disappearance of the old ways, there is said to be little concern. (In Makassar I did find some.) Evidently there is so little change here that there is no reason for concern. And they are the walking dead anyway.

Second trip to Pampanua for the birth feast with padjoge: I went over Saturday afternoon with Andi, two children, and two friends, together with the Mado Bukaka (the kepala kampong). The Sulewatang said that he had had no sleep all of the previous night. There were thousands of guests, three buffalo had been killed and were being eaten, and hundreds of women were working at the preparation of different kinds of food. I asked Thierens later who paid for this, and he said the people. The padjoge dance until dawn if there is any demand. They can go on and on. There were long lines of men eating. No women were visible as they were in the rear part of the house, some peeping out. There is not much new, except that they called the young lad who was a bus chauffeur. He is an ordinary kampong boy with lower third grade schooling. But he had made a movie machine from bicycle parts, etc. He bought a lens in Makassar for f. 25 and uses a flashlight. Where there was no metal for tubing he used bamboo cleverly. The apparatus is hand-turned

/121 cont./

173 These foreigners became related by marriage to the people of
[622] Wotoe, and they called into being the rulers of the miniature
states which made up the realm of Loewoe', the most important
[166] of whom are the Chiefs of Wotoe and Waiboenta. From
Lampenai the people moved to Bibilassa, not far from the
present-day Wotoe, to which they finally went because the
water at Bibilassa was brackish.

173 One group of the immigrants, which had dominance over
643 the others, kept going west until they settled at Malangke. The
[167] chiefs of this group are reported to be descended directly from
Sawerigading. They became Datoe of Loewoe'. The first Datoe
is said to have been Sawerigading; after him his son La Galigo,
and after him his son La Mapanganro. These three Datoes are
said to have returned to the sky at the end of their lives. This
is said to have happened in the following way, according to our
above-mentioned informant: when these datoes felt that they
had reached the end of their life, their corpses were exposed
to the wind outside the ridge of their palace, and then they
disappeared. The bodies of those who were Datoe of Loewoe'
after La Mapanganro were cremated at Malangke. Ashes and
bones were buried in an earthen pot in the ground (L. van
Vuuren, "Lijkverbranding op Celebes /Cremation on Celebes/,"
[174] Not. Bat. Gen., 51, 1913). This is clear proof that these im-
[177] migrants, among whom were the Datoes, were under Hindu in-
fluence. They are still known in Loewoe' by a name which is
derived from the kind of wood upon which their bodies were
cremated. Thus people speak of Datoe maningo ri badjo, "Datoe
who sleeps on badjo wood"; Maningo ri djampoee, "he who
sleeps on djamboe wood (Psidium guajava)," etc.

The last Datoe who lived at Malangke and who is known by
the name of Petta (poewang) Malangke, "master of Malangke,"
was married in Wotoe. He was the last Heathen among the Datoes.
According to our informant /122/ this ruler is reported to have